



New Netherland Institute

May 21, 2008

Mr. David Furlow
4126 Rice Boulevard
Houston, TX 77005

Dear Mr. Furlow,

David

In grateful appreciation for your participation in the 2006 Conference, which was held in Albany, New York in June 2006, we are enclosing a copy of the publication *De Halve Maen to KLM 400 Years of Dutch-American Exchange*. This publication is the second volume (Volume 2) of the Interdisciplinary Conference on Netherlandic Studies which Nodus published for AANS.

If you or a colleague wishes to purchase a copy of the publication, information will soon be available on our website at www.nnp.org/nni/Publications/index.html.

Sincerely,

Marilyn E. Douglas
Vice President

MED/bmu
Enc.

Margriet Bruijn Lacy, Charles Gehring,
Jenneke Oosterhoff (Eds.)

From *De Halve Maen* to KLM

400 Years of Dutch-American Exchange



Nodus Publikationen
Münster

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Jenneke Oosterhoff (Eds.)

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The Munsee and the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century

David A. Furlow

The Enigmatic Isaac Allerton

A Mariner, Merchant, Burgher, Attorney, and Diplomat of New Netherland

Isaac Allerton Sr. was the Forrest Gump of the seventeenth-century Atlantic world, barely visible in the background while kings and commissioners vie for the foreground. But Allerton was neither a walk-on nor a bit player. A mariner, merchant, burgher, attorney, and diplomat, both an Englishman and a Dutchman, a resident of New Plimouth, New Haven, and New Netherland, he was an important, energetic, yet enigmatic entrepreneur. Indeed, Isaac Allerton was one of the men who made Manhattan into what Russell Shorto refers to in the title of his most recent book as the *Island at the Center of the World*.¹ Allerton exemplifies the first half century of Anglo-Dutch-American exchange.

No known picture, diary, or journal of Allerton survives. Most of what is known about him comes from other people's writings: Edward Winslow's *Mourt's Relation and Good News from New England*; William Bradford's *History Of Plymouth Plantation*; John Winthrop Sr.'s *Journal and History of New England*; and the Winthrop Papers.² Yet Allerton's correspondence, contracts, and courthouse records in New Netherland, New England, New Sweden, and Virginia paint an even more compelling portrait of an intriguing individual.³

Allerton was born in Suffolk, England in 1586, according to a deposition of September 26, 1639 and a July 9, 1651 treaty signed by Peter Stuyvesant and five Native American sachems (chiefs).⁴ The Allerton family lived, and owned land, in East

1) See especially Shorto 2004: 8–9, 50–55.

2) See, e.g., Bangs 2004: xxi fn.1, and 15–16, 23, 23 fn. 8, and 27–35, 49–89; Bradford 1912, I: 111, 216, 294 n., 346, 370 n., 432, 438 n., 450; II: 3, 18, 28–32, 38, 57–78, 85–87, 99–104, 114, 120–150, 174, 204, 260 n., 296–299, 399–410; Schlesinger 1944: 107–108, 150, 303–304, 348, 394–395, 435, 506–508; Winthrop 1996: 34, 53, 109–110, 140, 152, 172, 426, 465n, 564, 727.

3) Underhill 1934: 757–814; McGiffert 2002: 15–23; Van Zandt 1994: 51–76; Hatfield 2004: 70, 79, 113, 117, 243 n.27; Anderson 2004: 12–14.

4) Lechford 1988: 189–190; Aspinwall 1903: 5, 21, 31, 81–84, 103, 215–220, 239, 242, 324; Anderson 2004: 12; Underhill 1934: 812 (citing O'Callaghan 1856–87, *DRCHNY* I: 597–599).

Anglia.⁵ The Old Testament name Isaac, common among East Anglians who settled in the New World, reflects Puritan beliefs.⁶ When Isaac was born, Elizabeth I reigned, and England and Holland were allied in war against Spain. He probably saw Dutch merchants and mariners around Ipswich, Bury, and Aldeburgh in Suffolk.⁷ After 1630, Allerton's oldest son, Bartholomew, married a woman named Margaret, and, after her death, he returned to Suffolk and married Suffolk resident Sarah Fairfax.⁸

Allerton may have been related to a Marian martyr, Ralph Allerton, who burned at the stake on September 18, 1557, nineteen years before Isaac's birth in 1586.⁹ Even if Ralph was not related, John Knox's pamphlets and John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* made the earlier Allerton's name synonymous with East Anglian Protestantism. In contrast to Puritans who sought to purify the Church of England from within, Allerton separated from the church — although no one knows precisely when he joined the Separatists. Joining Pastor John Robinson's congregation in Leiden required Allerton to leave England and risk his life for his Separatist faith. He may have come to Leiden as early as 1609, bringing members of his family with him. His sister Sarah married in Leiden, and a possible brother or cousin, John Allerton (who sailed on the *Mayflower*), buried a child in that city of refugees (Anderson 2004: 10–16, 382). Allerton and his wife Mary had three children between 1612 and 1616 (Bartholomew, Remember, and Mary), and buried a child at St. Pieter's Church, Leiden, on February 5, 1620.¹⁰

On November 4, 1611, Allerton married Mary Norris of Newbury, England, in a civil ceremony at the *Stadhuis*, not in a church, a Dutch custom of civil marriage that carried over to New Plymouth and New Netherland (Underhill 1934: 757). Allerton became a Leiden citizen on February 7, 1614. A June 18, 1618 affidavit called him "a tailor living in the city of Leiden, aged around thirty"¹¹ and described the gold braid, satin, and ruff silk (worth 64 guilders, 14 stuivers) in the cloak he tailored for Nicholas Claverly, an English-born Separatist and maker of clay pipes in Leiden who indirectly profited from tobacco sales and who began to link Allerton to the lucrative transatlantic tobacco trade Allerton would pursue in America.

5) Anderson 2004: 13–14; Underhill 1934: 812. Allerton's son Bartholomew returned to Bramfield, Suffolk, circa 1651, and married Sarah Fairfax of Suffolk. Wakefield and Stover 1998: 4 (citing Archdeacons of Suffolk, *Registered Wills* 73: 208 [Sarah Allerton], at W109/92 and R73/208, and Candler Ms. [Harl. Ms. 6071] [Fairfax family]); Hall 1990: 7–9; Taylor 1840: 64–65; Suffolk County Record Office, Ipswich, HB26: 371/80 v. 15–16, court roll for Bramfield (October 22, 1652).

6) Anderson 2004: 602–603; Fischer 1989: 43–44.

7) Fischer 1989: 43–44 (East Anglia "was invigorated by Dutch trade, Dutch immigrants, Dutch architecture, Dutch religion and Dutch culture").

8) Wakefield and Stover 1998: 4; Anderson 2004: 12; Archdeacons of Suffolk Records, *Registered Wills*, 73: 208 (Sarah), at W109/92 and R73/208, and Candler Ms. (Harl. Ms. 6071) (Fairfax family).

9) See Knox 1559, and Foxe 1563/1563: chap. XVI. Ralph Allerton was taken prisoner in Essex at Great Bentley, near Suffolk, on March 7, 1557.

10) Wakefield and Stover 1998: 2; Bangs 2002: 48.

11) Leiden Archives ONA131 no. 185/18–6–1618; Bangs: 1984: 110–112.

Allerton's experiences in Leiden shaped his later life. Every October, Leiden's citizens celebrate a day of thanks to remember the city's delivery from a Spanish siege, a tradition that may have influenced New Plimouth's Thanksgiving in 1621.¹² In addition to civil marriage, the Dutch tradition of municipal elections continued at New Plimouth. Leiden's religious tolerance and brisk, multinational commerce broadened Allerton's horizons and led him to work with people from all nations (English, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, French, Portuguese and Native Americans) and religions (Separatists, Puritans, Dutch Reformed, Puritan/Pilgrim opponents such as Thomas Morton and Edward Ashley, Anglicans like Samuel Maverick, Lutherans, Catholics, and even Anthony the Turk of Salee, a Muslim resident of Manhattan).¹³

Allerton traveled with his pregnant wife Mary, their three young children, his sister's husband Degory Priest, and his brother (or cousin) John on the *Mayflower* in 1620.¹⁴ Allerton was the fifth person to sign the Mayflower Compact. By settling in New England in 1620, rather than on the Hudson as planned,¹⁵ the Pilgrims postponed a territorial struggle with the Dutch, allowing Peter Minuit to purchase Manhattan from Native Americans in 1626.¹⁶ The *Mayflower* voyage was a tragedy for Allerton, whose unborn son, wife, and brother-in-law did not survive the first winter in America. Remember and Mary remained in New England, married, and raised families, but Bartholomew returned to Suffolk, married into a prominent Puritan family, and served as a clerk/minister while Oliver Cromwell ruled a Puritan Commonwealth in Britain.

At least two surviving books reflect Allerton's Separatist beliefs. One, *Annotations upon the Book of Psalmes*, was written by an English Separatist in Amsterdam, Henry Ainsworth, and is now in the Library of Virginia at Richmond (cf. Jones 1938). In February 1621 Allerton gave it to Giles Heale, the *Mayflower's* surgeon, who wrote: "This Booke was given unto me Giles Heale Chirurgion by Isacke Allerton Tailor in Verginia the .X. of February in the Yeare of our Lorde 1620 [Old Style]." The Massachusetts Historical Society owns the second book, a 1601 Geneva Bible published in London, which may have traveled on the *Mayflower*.¹⁷ The entry "Isaac Allerton, His Booke" may bear the signature of Isaac Allerton the *Mayflower* Pilgrim or his son Isaac Jr., a New Plimouth native who graduated from Harvard and rose to prominence in Virginia. The careful underlining of passages, handwritten footnotes, and cross-references in faded, brown, seventeenth-century ink reveal the inner thoughts of a Separatist who drew his own conclusions after reading his own, deluxe-edition, Geneva Bible.

Allerton served as assistant to Governor William Bradford during the colony's first eleven years.¹⁸ He crossed the Atlantic at least four more times, obtained an

12) Bangs 2000: 36–38; Bangs 2004: 43–47.

13) Van Laer 1974d: 119; Van Zandt 1994: 76; Underhill 1934: 825.

14) Anderson 2004: 10–16, 382–383; Stratton 1986: 21–24, 46, 251, 406–409, 413–429.

15) Bradford 1912, I: 87, 95; Stratton 1986: 20.

16) Bradford 1912, I: 99, 99 n.3, and 158–160; Stratton 1986: 20.

17) Furlow and Pennington n.d.; "Quarterly Meeting" 1798: 113, 113 fn.

18) Bradford 1912, I: 216; Anderson 2004: 11; Van Zandt 1994: 67–68.

enlarged colony patent to Kennebeck River land in Maine, renegotiated the Colony's indebtedness to London merchants, transported additional settlers from Leiden at the height of the Thirty Years' War, and provisioned Massachusetts Bay Company settlers. Around 1626, he married Fear Brewster (a daughter of William Brewster, the colony's Cambridge-educated religious leader), who bore Allerton at least two children, Sarah and Isaac Jr. Between 1631 and 1634, Allerton engaged in a power struggle with New Plimouth Governor William Bradford, foreshadowing his later conflict with New Netherland Director-General Willem Kieft.¹⁹ Bradford dismissed Allerton as the colony's agent in 1631 because of disputes about the fur trade, the ship *White Angel*, Allerton's association with the Massachusetts Bay Colony and with the controversial lawyer Thomas Morton, and the colony's tangled accounting.²⁰ The details remain murky, but in 1633, New Plimouth's freemen elected Edward Winslow as governor, and eased Bradford into an assistant governor position; the next year, they elected Allerton as an assistant governor and chose his brother-in-law Thomas Prence (who had married Patience Brewster) as their new governor.²¹ Bradford returned as governor the next year and, later, blasted Allerton in his history of the colony.²²

In 1631, Allerton founded the Marblehead, MA cod-fishing industry and began to create a trade network that eventually stretched from Nova Scotia to the Caribbean.²³ Circumstantial evidence suggests that Allerton was already trading with New Netherland. In a December 8, 1630 letter, Massachusetts Bay leader Emmanuel Downing wrote: "If yt be trew that Mr. Allerton's reports of Hudson's river, there is noe place comparable to yt for a plantaçon, and t'will quitt cost for you to remove thither, though all be lost in the place where you are, for he sayth that Hudsons river goes into Canada and those 2 make New England an Iland"²⁴

19) Although some historians refer to Kieft as a "Director" and to Stuyvesant as the only "Director-General," Kieft referred to himself as a director-general in his correspondence with former West India Company employee Peter Minuit after Minuit organized the New Sweden colony (Shorto 2004: 116); and later when he conveyed a patent to New England settler John Throgmorton a/k/a Throckmorton (O'Callaghan 1856–87, *DRCHNY* XIII: 15–16). Other New Netherlanders referred to Kieft as a director-general, too (ibid., *DRCHNY* I: 193 [letter of Maryn Andriaensen et al. to the "Honorable William Kieft, Director General of New Netherland ..."], 195 ["the late Director General Kieft ..."]), and 281 (Petition of the Twelve Men to "the Honorable Willem Kieft, Director General...").

20) See also Van Zandt 1994: 74–75; Underhill 1934: 778.

21) *Plymouth Colony Records*, Court Orders, I: 21. See also Anderson 2004: 374 (Thomas Prence's election as the Plymouth Colony's Governor, January 1, 1633/4) and 507 (Edward Winslow's election as Governor, January 1, 1632/3). Underhill 1934: 11 (Allerton's election, January 1, 1633/34), 63 (Bradford), 373–374 (election of Brewster's son-in-law and Allerton's in-law, Thomas Prence, as governor).

22) See, e.g., Bradford 1912, II: 48, 73–76, 106–107, 119–136. Cf. Winthrop 1996: 54–55, and Bangs 2004: 113–114 ("Bradford's assessment, although justified to some extent by multiple confusions arising from complex deals in which Allerton participated, was clearly excessive and overlooked the fact that Allerton demonstrated considerable charity toward the colonists by forgiving debts owed to his estate").

23) Winthrop 1996: 110. See also Underhill 1934: 787.

24) Bradford 1912, II: 63–64, edit. fn.

Allerton traded with the French under Charles Menou D'Aulnay at Pentagoet/ Penobscot and with the English at Pemaquid in Maine in March 1636.²⁵ But Allerton's internationalism earned him the enmity of friends at New Plimouth. Assistant Governor Edward Winslow condemned him to John Winthrop as "my old neighbor Isaac, whose head is always full of such projects, and hath too great familiarity with our common adversaries," i.e., New France and New Netherland.²⁶ In 1972, Plimoth Plantation archaeologists found distinctive "EB" tobacco pipes made by Edward Bird — who was born in Surrey and later emigrated to the Netherlands to run an Amsterdam pipe workshop between 1630 and 1665 — at Allerton's Kingston house site, near Plymouth; other archaeologists have discovered similar pipe stems at Pentagoet, the French fort where Allerton traded in coastal Maine, in the Van Tienhoven and Kierstede privies on Pearl Street near Allerton's Pearl Street, Lower Manhattan warehouse.²⁷ These artifacts suggest that Allerton's trading voyages may have linked Maine with New Netherland as early as the mid-1630s.

Allerton became a New Netherland merchant in the 1630s. He bought beaver furs, tobacco, and livestock from Native Americans and Dutch and English settlers, purchasing them with wampum (trade beads), tools, kettles, duffel cloth, and other goods. Some of the first records of New Amsterdam — the Council Minutes of August, 1638 — refer to Allerton's ship *De Hoop* (Hope), his son-in-law's brother Samuel Maverick, his employee Master Pieter Gerlyn, and Gerlyn's "slander" of New Netherlander Nan Beech.²⁸ On February 10, 1639, Allerton sued Edward Celes on a debt.²⁹ On February 17, 1639, Allerton sold tobacco with approval of New Netherland Director-General Kieft (Van Laer 1974a: 91–92). By 1640, a New Plimouth colonist referred to "Mr Isacke Allerton agt. [agent of] a Dutchman" in a power of attorney from Boston (Lechford 1988: 259). His name appears frequently in New Netherland's later records.

25) Allerton's trade with the French at Pentagoet is referenced in Winthrop's *Journal* on March 10, 1636 (Winthrop 1996: 172). His trade with the English at Pemaquid is in the same entry, as well as in Bradford 1912, II: 219.

26) Johnson 2003: 459, referencing Edward Winslow's May 1, 1637 letter to John Winthrop Sr.

27) Deetz and Deetz 2000: 133–140; Camp 1993; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987: 164–182 ("EB" pipes). The "EB" tobacco pipes of English-born Edward Bird, a pipe maker who moved to the Netherlands and produced pipes there for export, and the *fleur-de-lis* pipe stems found at the French fort, Pentagoet, where Allerton traded on the coast of Maine, are similar to the "EB" and *fleur-de-lis* stems from the Allerton/Cushman site C-21 that Plimoth Plantation archaeologists excavated (PARP *Ceramics* and PARP *Clay Pipes*). Bird's tobacco pipes have also been found on two sites just down the street from Allerton's in Lower Manhattan, Pearl Street and Peck Slip warehouse, e.g., the circa 1640–50 "EB" tobacco pipes found in the Van Tienhoven privy on Pearl Street, and at the circa 1647 Hans Kierstede privy site at Whitehall and Pearl Streets. See Cantwell and Wall 2001: 164, 172, 174, 320 n.7; Ewell 1981: 63; and, generally, Dallal 1995. Archaeologists have found another EB pipe stem at Fort Massapequa on Long Island (Cantwell and Wall 2001: 320 n.7). In addition, Edward Bird pipes have been found at Iroquois sites in New York (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987: 174).

28) Van Laer 1974a: 54–56; Underhill 1934: 799–800. Allerton first appears in the *Council Minutes of the Director General and the Council of New Netherland* on February 17, 1639 in a dispute about Pieter Gerlyn, the drunken, absent master of Allerton's bark ... (Van Laer 1974a: 91).

29) Stokes 1998, II: 89. See also Van Laer 1974a: 39.

Allerton, who watched the Dutch invest in, and sell, ships in the Netherlands, began to buy and sell boats in New Netherland. He sold the bark *De Hoop* to Govert Loockermans, a former West India Company sailor and agent of Amsterdam's Verbrugge family, on January 20, 1642, then entered into a commercial partnership with him.³⁰ On June 2, 1643, Allerton and Loockermans purchased "two lots on the east side of the Great Highway [Broadway] ..." and built a grand house that was later home to English governors.³¹ By 1646, Allerton owned a triangular piece of land where he erected an East River warehouse and a quay known as "Allerton's Wharf."³²

Allerton's experience, knowledge, and fairness earned the trust of fellow New Netherlanders, who repeatedly chose him to arbitrate disputes. The Register of the Provincial Secretary recorded one such occasion on December 12, 1642: "Isaac Allerton and Hendric van Dyc, [after being] appointed referees ... find it just that Mr. Bentyn shall pay to Messinjour and associates fifty Carolus guilders"³³ Allerton repeatedly served as a mediator and an arbitrator³⁴ under Directors-General Kieft and Stuyvesant.

As an inter-colonial merchant mariner, Allerton tried to be a friend to all and an enemy to none. Speaking English, Dutch, German or Swedish, and probably some Algonquian, he was a helpful burgher for Virginians in New Netherland and a well-supplied English merchant to Swedes, Dutch, and Native Americans in the Delaware Valley.³⁵ When a pinnace carrying three New England Puritan ministers foundered off Long Island in late 1642, Allerton "took great care" of them, sailed them to southern Virginia in his pinnace, and then stayed to trade.³⁶ A pork sale contract of April 23, 1643, for example, spanned the Atlantic coast, binding together Phillip White of New England, George Roome of Rhode Island, Anthony Hopkins and Tho-

30) Van Laer 1974b: 11; Underhill 1934: 807.

31) Gehring 1980: 19, GG 62; Stokes 1998, II: 98, citing Map of Dutch Grants, C. Pl. 87, II and II: 369; Underhill 1934: 800.

32) Van Laer 1974b: 325-326; Fernow 1976, I: 347, 355; Stokes 1998, I: 107, and IV: 155; Homberger and Hudson 1998: 29, 31.

33) Van Laer 1974b: 83; Underhill 1934: 806.

34) Allerton and fellow Englishman Tomas Bacxter a/k/a Baxter served as arbitrators in *John Brint, Plaintiff vs. Mr. Heyl, Defendant*, under a January 22, 1643 Council order; with Seger Tonissen and Jan Jansen Schepmoes in *Haye Jansen, Plaintiff vs. Jan Laurensen, Defendant* under an October 4, 1646 Council order; and with fellow New Plymouth trader Thomas Willett under a Burgomaster and Schepens order dated August 17, 1654, in *Thomas Hall, Plaintiff vs. Thomas Stevenson, Defendant*. See also Van Laer 1974d: 181, 343-344; Underhill: 1934: 806; and Fernow 1970, I: 226.

35) Allerton's enigmatic identity changed with his audience and his interests. On September 7, 1639 a Massachusetts affidavit identified him as "Isaacke Allerton of New Plimmouth in New England merchant aged about 53 yeares ..." (Underhill 1934: 780 and Lechford: 1988: 189-190). On March 30, 1643 John Winthrop Sr. referred to "Mr. Allerton of New Haven" (Winthrop 1996: 426). On April 23, 1643 a contract referenced "Isaac Alderton of the Manhawtus Marchant" (Ames 1973: 379). On July 9, 1651 a New Netherland Indian treaty described him as "Isaack Allerton of Suffolk, merchant" (Underhill 1934: 811).

36) Winthrop 1996: 426 (March 30, 1643).

mas Bushrod of Virginia, and "Isaac Alderton of the Manhawtus Marchant" for mutual profit.³⁷

On February 26, 1643, Director-General Kieft ordered the massacres that made his name infamous.³⁸ Two death squads attacked groups of Wickquasgeck and Tappan refugees encamped at Corlaer's Hook (now on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, near the Williamsburg Bridge) and at Pavonia (now Jersey City, NJ), resulting in the murder of 110 men, women, and children.³⁹ A shifting coalition of Native American tribes responded with a war of vengeance and atrocity. Allerton's New Plimoth associate Roger Williams patched up a truce in March, but in August 1643, Native Americans slaughtered New England dissident Ann Hutchinson and her family, then attacked the colony of John Throgmorton, Allerton's neighbor from Marblehead in the Bay Colony. The Commonalty, i.e., the people of New Netherland, forced Kieft to select a new council, the Board of Eight Men. Allerton and other members of that international assembly (Dutchmen, Englishmen, and one German/Dane) helped Kieft convince New England's foremost warrior, John Underhill, to command a force of New England soldiers in the colony's defense.⁴⁰ Underhill's ruthless measures turned the tide during 1644,⁴¹ leading to peace on August 30, 1645.⁴² While serving on the Board of Eight Men, Allerton helped Cornelis Melyn and Joachim Kuyter undercut Kieft's power by complaining to the West India Company and the States General of the Netherlands about Kieft's bad judgment and cowardice. The Board of Eight's 1643 and 1644 complaints, which Allerton signed, resulted in Kieft's replacement by Stuyvesant.⁴³

37) Ames 1973: 379. See also Hoadly 1858: 142-143 (May 30, 1655 record of a lawsuit against a Milford baker for bad "biscuit" affecting Allerton's trade reputation in Virginia and Barbados).

38) Some historians refer to Kieft's War as beginning in 1640, when Kieft first faced a Native American uprising, but bloodshed was intermittent during the three years prior to the massacres at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook on February 24/25, 1643. Those massacres resulted in a full-scale war that threatened the Dutch colony's existence, as reflected in contemporaneous interrogatories asking, *inter alia*, "Did not we, the Dutch, in this country, live in peace with these Indians before and until this cruel deed had been wrought on them over at Pavonia and on the Island Manhatans?" (O'Callaghan 1856-87, *DRCHNY* I: 195-196 (Interrogatories 1-5 propounded to Fiscal van Dyke), 197-198 (Interrogatories 5-9 propounded to Dr. Johannes de la Montaigne)).

39) O'Callaghan 1856-87, *DRCHNY* I: 194; Winthrop 1996: 427-428; Roger Williams' *Letter to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay*, October 5, 1654; Shorto 2004: 123-124.

40) Van Laer 1974d: 205, 207; O'Callaghan 1856-87, *DRCHNY* I: 151, and XIII: 16; Hoadly 1857, I: 112-119; Trelease 1960: 76, 79; Van Der Zee and Van Der Zee 1978: 125.

41) Van Der Zee and Van Der Zee 1978: 128-130, 282; Trelease 1960: 78-81.

42) Winthrop 1996: 427-428, 475-476; *Journal van der Nieu Nederland* (Journal of New Netherland) in O'Callaghan 1856-87, *DRCHNY* III: 185-192; Van Laer 1974d: 204-205, 207; Hoadly 1857, I: 112-119; Flick 1962, I: 292; Shorto 2004: 139-140; Van Der Zee and Van Der Zee 1978: 125; Underhill 1934: 803.

43) O'Callaghan 1856-87, *DRCHNY* I: 190-191 (letter of the Eight Men to the Assembly of the XIX of the West India Company, October 24, 1643); *ibid.*, I: 189-190 (letter of the Eight Men to the "Noble, High and Mighty Lords ... of the United Netherlands Provinces," i.e., the States General, November 3, 1643, from an authenticated copy in the National Archives at The Hague); Van Der Zee and Van Der Zee 1978: 127; Stokes 1998: 100; Underhill 1934: 804; and 204, 209-213 (Memorial of the Eight Men to the "Honorable, Wise, Prudent General

In New Sweden, where the Swedes perceived the Dutch as the great threat, Allerton acted as a New England merchant. In 1644, New Sweden's Governor Johan Printz responded to criticism of his 1643 trial of New Haven fur trader George Lambertson by convening America's first international tribunal. He asked Allerton to serve with Swedes, Finns, and Dutchmen as an impartial observer protecting New England interests.⁴⁴ (Allerton often served the governors of New Sweden, New Haven, and New Netherland as an international emissary. One more example out of many suffices. On April 30, 1649, New Haven governor Eaton responded to Stuyvesant's letter about the New England Confederation, which he had received "by Mr. Allerton."⁴⁵)

In the summer of 1647, when he learned from Stuyvesant that he lost his position, Kieft charged Melyn and Kuyter, two of the Eight Men, with treason and also alleged that, "Jacob Stoffelse and Isack Allerton principally implored the people to sign"⁴⁶ Stuyvesant convicted and banished Melyn and Kuyter, but not Allerton. In 1656-57, after continuous oppression from Stuyvesant, Melyn moved his family to New Haven and joined Allerton's church.⁴⁷ Allerton, who could have kept Melyn out of New Haven, remained loyal to his old ally on the Board of Eight Men.

During the English Civil War, Dutch ships dominated the tobacco market in Virginia and the coastal trade from Boston to Barbados. But London merchants lobbied Parliament to hobble Dutch trade and Oliver Cromwell enforced the Navigation Acts, leading to the First Anglo-Dutch War. On November 27, 1653, Massachusetts Bay leaders required Allerton to post a £300 bond to ensure that he would not deliver specified goods to the French or Dutch. Allerton posted the bond on those goods, but otherwise continued to trade freely.⁴⁸

Allerton even acted as a bail-bondsman and defense attorney. On January 26 and 30, 1654, he "spoke for" a Dutch sailor, Lawrence Corneliusson, after that sailor's intoxication, insults, and bad attitude caused New Haven magistrates to charge him with "great miscarriages in affronting the authority set up by this jurisdiction at Milford, in a very high degree and contemptuous manner" Allerton argued a drunken-passion, "diminished capacity" defense, kept his friend out of jail, had the fine reduced from £20 to £10, secured a three-month extension to pay it, then posted the sailor's bail-bond.⁴⁹

On February 27, 1654, Cromwell dispatched four English warships and two merchantmen to conquer New Netherland. When these ships arrived at Boston in late

Directors of the Incorporated West India Company, Chamber at Amsterdam" on October 28, 1644), and 250 (referring back to the delivery on the ship *Blue Cock* of the letters of the Eight Men, "in the name of the unanimous Commonalty," to the Assembly of the XIX and to the Directors of the West India Company in Amsterdam, in a mandamus/writ of Cornelis Melyn and Jochem Pietersz Cuyter in The Hague in 1648); Shorto 2004: 143-145.

44) Johnson 1930: 206, 243-247; Underhill 1934: 810.

45) Hoadly 1857, I: 309, 499, 520-533; Underhill 1934: 817.

46) O'Callaghan 1856-87, *DRCHNY* I: 204, 250; Van Laer 1974d: 399-407; Underhill 1934: 804.

47) Dexter 1917: 268-275; Hoadly 1857, I: 140.

48) "An Autograph": 97-98; Merrick 1994: 13.

49) Hoadly 1857, II: 124-126; Underhill 1934: 817.

May, someone told Allerton, who had to decide whether to warn Stuyvesant or to remain silent. The New Netherland Council Minutes of May 29, 1654 state that, "Rumors circulating for days were confirmed in detail last evening by Dr. Isaacq Allerton, that 10 or 12 days ago, six ships arrived at ... Boston, four warships, and two merchantmen."⁵⁰ A few days later, everyone learned that England and the Netherlands had already made peace by signing the April 15, 1654 Treaty of Westminster. Why did Allerton warn Stuyvesant? Perhaps he believed news of a powerful invasion fleet would force a peaceful negotiation rather than result in a bloody battle for his city — as happened in 1664, when Thomas Willett warned Stuyvesant of the English invasion fleet and the burghers compelled Stuyvesant to choose surrender over siege.

When Allerton traveled to the Delaware River on June 17, 1654, he discovered that the ship *Orn* (Eagle) had arrived from Sweden. Seizing the opportunity to trade, he sailed back to his New Amsterdam warehouse, filled his ketch with Virginia tobacco, and went to New Sweden. He received partial payment and extended credit for the rest until the next year. The *Orn* returned to Sweden with Allerton's tobacco.⁵¹ By 1655, New Sweden settlers who depended on his supplies owed him thousands of florins in unpaid debt.

Allerton had an obvious financial interest in persuading his fellow New Englanders not to proceed with their plan to invade the Delaware River Valley in 1655. When war seemed imminent, he arranged a summit conference between New Haven Vice Governor Stephen Goodyear and New Sweden Treasurer Hendrick van Elswick at his own New Amsterdam home on April 28–30, 1655. After Goodyear suggested that the Swedish colony was a private venture not backed by any government, Allerton confirmed that he had seen the Swedish governors' crown commissions and urged a peaceful resolution of differences. New Haveners shelved their invasion idea, avoiding a messy, three-way war that might have erupted when Stuyvesant invaded and conquered New Sweden in September of 1655.⁵²

On September 5, 1655, Stuyvesant led a Dutch flotilla, including the warship *De Waegh*, six other vessels, and many soldiers and sailors, to New Sweden.⁵³ Swedish governor Johan Rising surrendered on September 15. At dawn that same day, 600 Minquas (Susquehannock) Native American allies of New Sweden retaliated by raiding Manhattan. They began at Allerton's warehouse, where they burst the lock, beat his servants, and "show[ed] great insolence to Mr. Allerton," who was sixty-nine years old. Allerton probably convinced the Native Americans that he had been a

⁵⁰) O'Callaghan 1865–66, *Calendar* I: 583; Van Der Zee and Van Der Zee 1978: 248–250.

⁵¹) Johnson 1911, II: 514–515; Rising 1912: 136–151.

⁵²) Johnson 1911, II: 576–580, citing Hendrick van Elswick's fragment of a journal on his journey to New Amsterdam in April–May 1655; van Elswick's fragmentary journal (trans. Dr. Amandus Johnson), *Amandus Johnson Papers*, Pennsylvania Historical Society, MSS Group 41, Box 56, report marked "1655 4–28"); and Rising's *Report*, June 1655, I (New Haven plans and Allerton's summit); Dexter 1917: 235.

⁵³) Gehring 1981: xi; 35–36 (Doc. 18: 12); 37–38 (Doc. 18: 13); 40–41 (Doc. 18: 16); 42–44 (Doc. 18: 17); 46–47 (Doc. 18: 20); Fernow 1976, I: 372; Stokes 1998, IV: 155–163; Johnson 1911, II: 610; Van Der Zee and Van Der Zee 1978: 272; Shorto 2004: 279–281.

friend to the Swedes, even if he conducted business in New Amsterdam. They fled when a Dutch ship commanded by Captain Edmund Scarborough of Virginia brought its guns to bear on them. The Council of New Netherland patched together a shaky truce, leading the Native Americans to withdraw from Manhattan, but they ravaged Staten Island the next day. In October, the Council imposed defense assessments on leading residents, including one for fl. 60 on Allerton. On December 6, 1655, the Secretary of the West India Company referred to "the worthy Mr. Isaack Allerton, the elder, an old and established citizen of this city" when he recorded Allerton's bond on a contract to sell Aruba horses or Curacao salt (Van Laer 1974c: 436-437).

Stuyvesant's conquest of New Sweden, the looting of Governor Johan's Rising's warehouse, the return of Swedes to their homeland, and the flight of others to Maryland kept Allerton from collecting his unpaid bills. From New Amstel to New Haven, Allerton spent his last years prosecuting and defending debt collection lawsuits.⁵⁴ His daughter Remember died before 1656 and his son Bartholomew in 1658. In that same year, when he was seventy-two years old, Allerton left New Amsterdam for New Haven, where he and third wife Joanna owned a fine home. After a life of energy, endeavor, and enterprise, he died in New Haven in February 1659. His estate was so complex that the New Haven and New Netherland probate proceedings lasted until 1661.⁵⁵

Isaac Allerton Sr. is buried in the New Haven Green near Center Church. Although debts plagued his New Haven and New Netherland estates, he took care of his family, leaving a house and land to his surviving daughter Mary at New Plimouth and to his widow Joanna in New Haven. His Harvard-educated second son, Isaac Jr., received a plantation and became one of Virginia's most powerful leaders. In an age of extremism, Isaac Allerton worked with people of many faiths and nations. He helped found the New Plimoth colony, helped get the Bay Colony started, and helped save New Netherland from attack and arbitrary power in the years 1643-47. A tailor of London and Leiden, later a merchant mariner of New Plimouth, Marblehead, New Haven, New Amstel, and New Amsterdam, his inter-colonial trade earned him the title "Father of New England Commerce" in a commemorative plaque on the New Haven Green.⁵⁶

54) Records of Allerton's litigation include, *inter alia*, those found in Fernow 1976, I: 376 (October 18, 1655) and Gehring 1981 XVIII (*Delaware Papers*, Doc. 18:21 "Minutes of the Administration of Jean Paul Jaquet"): 59 (Allerton's March 17, 1656 petition seeking collection against the warehoused goods of former New Sweden Governor Johan Printz), 60 (Allerton's April 13, 1656 litigation to recover debts owed by five New Sweden settlers); 75-76 (Allerton's December 20, 1656 collection suit against three New Sweden settlers), and 80-81 (Allerton's January 31, 1657 lawsuit seeking judicial attachment of New Sweden settler Jan Staelcop's tobacco and Allerton's January 31, 1657 petition to West India Company Vice-Director on the South [Delaware] River Jean Paul Jaquet referring to 12,000 guilders owed to Allerton by settlers living along the Delaware River).

55) Dexter 1917: 382-383 (last court appearance, February 1, 1659), 409-410, 420-425 (probate); Hoadly 1858: 293, 307-309; Gehring 1981: 112-113 (Doc. 16: 12); Fernow 1976, III: 90-92; Bangs 2004: 114 n.28; Anderson 2004: 12; Underhill 1934: 818-820; Stokes 1998, IV: 200.

56) Underhill 1934: photograph of plaque, title page, and 826, 828.

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Paul R. Huey

From Bird to Tippet

The Archeology of Continuity and Change in Colonial Dutch Material Culture after 1664

The history and occupation of the colonial Dutch in Fort Orange, the nearby town of Beverwijck, and the surrounding Colonie of Rensselaerswijck did not end with the English takeover in 1664. Except for a brief period of return to Dutch rule in 1673 and 1674, Fort Orange became Fort Albany, and Beverwijck became the city of Albany, NY. The Colonie of Rensselaerswijck became the Manor of Rensselaerswijck in 1685, and the English governor gave Albany its charter in 1686. While architecture demonstrates the continuity of traditional Dutch styles and building traditions through the remainder of the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century (fig. 1), excavated archeological evidence from sites occupied before and after 1664 provides insight into the actual process of cultural change and the transition from Dutch to English material culture. Sites which include occupation from the second half of the seventeenth century include Philipse Manor Hall just north of Manhattan, sites in the village of Wiltwijck which is present Kingston, farm sites in Rensselaerswijck, Fort Orange which was occupied until 1676, Crailo which was across and just down the Hudson River from Fort Orange, sites associated with Beverwijck and early Albany, and sites along the Mohawk River above and below Schenectady.

Charles Wooley, who visited New York from 1678 to 1680, observed that the Dutch were "obstinate and incessant Smokers, both Indians and Dutch, especially the latter, whose Diet especially of the boorish sort, being Sallets and Bacon, and very often pickled buttermilk, require the use of that herb [tobacco] to keep their phlegm from coagulating and curdling" (O'Callaghan 1860: 34).¹ This observation is consistent with the archeological evidence of thousands of clay pipe fragments at Dutch sites. Since the colonial Dutch as well as the English were obviously heavy consumers of tobacco, fragments of clay tobacco pipes, many of which bear marks which identify their makers, constitute one of the most abundant and sensitive sources of information on the transition from Dutch to English material culture.

1) Citation from O'Callaghan's 1860 edition of "A Two Years Journal in New York, and Part of its Territories in America," by Charles Wooley, first published in London in 1701.



fig. 1. The Van Alen house in Kinderhook, built in 1737.
Photographed on August 9, 1964, prior to restoration.

Reliance upon artifacts to demonstrate cultural change is not a simple matter. Throughout much of the seventeenth century, the English colonies in America also relied heavily on merchandise of both English and Dutch origin: glassware, ceramics, clay pipes, beads, cloth, and other manufactured goods. In September 1664 the English at Fort Albany quickly promised the Mohawk and Seneca Iroquois Indians that the Indians "shall have all such wares and commodities from the English for the future, as heretofore they had from the Dutch" (O'Callaghan 1853: 67).² The New York governor, however, in 1665 candidly conceded that it would be some time before English industry could compete in the manufacture and price of Dutch goods, and, as Jan Kupp has also noted (1974: 141), Dutch goods continued to arrive at Albany from Amsterdam until the late 1680s, decreasing slowly only in the 1690s. The Common Council of New York City agreed, noting in a petition that Dutch goods for the Indian trade "cannot be so well made in England" (O'Callaghan 1853: 187). Not until after William of Orange assumed the throne of England in 1689 did England's Industrial Revolution truly enable that country to manufacture most of the goods that were needed in its colonies. Thus, an analysis of the archeological evidence from sites occupied in the critical period between 1664 and 1689 and from sites occupied after 1689 assumes a special significance in tracing the influence, if any, of English goods on colonial Dutch material culture, and vice versa. Then, with the abundance of English goods available in the eighteenth century, it may be possi-

2) The writer is indebted to the late John Ferguson for this reference.

ble to detect patterns in consumption which suggest that in some areas a more conservative Dutch cultural identity was maintained.

In the seventeenth century, clay pipes made by many different Amsterdam pipe makers were sent to Fort Orange for trade with the Indians as well as for local consumption, but those made by a single Amsterdam pipe maker, Edward Bird, dominated the export of pipes by 1650. He was from England, like many other Amsterdam pipe makers, and he was in Amsterdam by 1630 when he married Aaltje Govaert. His pipes, marked on the flat heel with the initials EB, were made in the flat-heeled bulbous shape that was typical of seventeenth-century pipes and which originated in England in the late sixteenth century (fig. 2). They appear in sites virtually worldwide wherever the Dutch settled or traded in the seventeenth century. The first Edward Bird pipe to appear at Fort Orange was in a soil layer from the 1640 to 1647 period, a period during which Edward Bird's prosperity as a pipe maker is exemplified by his purchase of a corner house on the Egelantiersgracht in Amsterdam in 1645 (De Roever 1987: 54; Huey 1988: 299-300, 572). This pipe, however, is different from the bulbous pipes that were made by Bird and other makers and were also present at Fort Orange (fig. 3). It has a distinctive elbow shape which was designed specifically for the American trade, as indicated by the almost complete absence of these elbow pipes in European sites. This shape may actually have originated with the prolific Edward Bird, as an innovation to satisfy requests by traders, perhaps specifically by Arent van Curler, for pipe shapes that would appeal to Indians.³

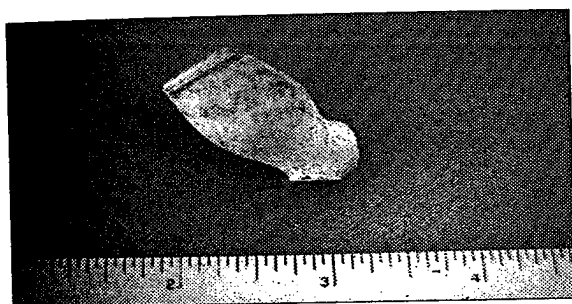


fig. 2.
A typical bulbous Dutch tobacco pipe bowl with flat heel excavated at the site of Fort Orange (1642-76) in Albany, NY. The scale is in inches.

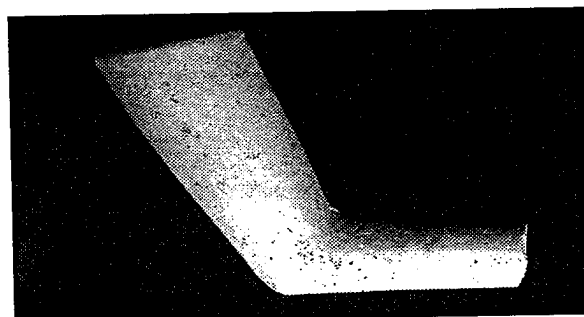


fig. 3.
Heel-less elbow pipe with the EB mark beneath the bowl, excavated at Fort Orange.
Photograph by Joseph E. McEvoy.

In 1654, Edward Bird bought a house on the Rozengracht in Amsterdam, and by 1655 he probably was using the kilns of Willem Hendricksz. Heptenstal, also a pipe maker on the Rozengracht (De Roever 1987: 56; Huey 1988: 382). It is believed Hendricksz. was born about 1599 in Nottinghamshire, England, but he came probably from Heptonstall, Yorkshire (Duco 1981: 257, 291, 309). Hendricksz. also pro-

³) See, for example, the letter dated 1658 from Jeremias van Rensselaer to Robert Vastrick in Van Laer 1932: 102.

duced pipes with the distinctive elbow shape for the American trade, marking them with his WH initials. Examples have been found at the Schuyler Flatts site, a farm settled by Arent van Curler in 1643 north of Beverwijck, at the site of a house occupied probably by a brickmaker after 1651 just north of Beverwijck, and at the Van Buren farm site in the Papscaene Island area. They have also been found at Iroquois Indian village sites of the 1650s: the Mohawk Printup site and the Onondaga Indian Castle site.⁴

Elbow-shaped pipes were made by still another Amsterdam pipe maker, John Draper on the Reestraat, and they bear his ID initials within a dotted circle. Examples were likewise found at the Schuyler Flatts and at the brickmaker's house site. Draper was born about 1593, and he evidently came to Amsterdam about 1630 from Coventry, Warwickshire. Thomas Draper, probably a cousin, was a clothier and fuller in Heptonstall, Yorkshire. Thomas Draper's son, James, settled in Roxbury, MA, between 1646 and 1650, which may explain John Draper's interest in making pipes for the American trade. He also produced the typical bulbous pipes for local consumption, with examples found in Amsterdam as well as on two shipwrecks probably from the first half of the seventeenth century sunk in the Waddenzee.⁵

His wife having died in 1658, Edward Bird soon thereafter married a widow, Anna van der Heijden. Bird produced the distinctive elbow-shaped pipes as well as the typical bulbous pipes probably until his death in 1665 (fig. 4). His son, Evert, continued his father's business. Evert later used "The Rose" as a name for the business, and even before his father's death he may have also produced elbow-shaped pipes marked with a stylized rose. A large number of such pipes with that mark were found in the wreck of a ship dating from the early 1650s sunk on the coast of Santo Domingo. The same ship carried a cargo of bulbous bowl-shaped pipes with the EB mark. Other examples of elbow-shaped pipes with this stylized rose mark were in a context dating about 1664 in Fort Orange, at the Van Buren site, and at the Schuyler Flatts site.⁶ Evert Bird, however, after 1665 considered the EB mark an inheritance from his father and continued to use it. Edward Bird's widow remarried in 1668 with Hendrick Gerdes, and he, too, became a pipe maker and produced elbow-shaped pipes. He may have used the HG mark instead of the EB, producing pipes presumably until his death in 1684. Fragments of elbow-shaped pipes with a plain HG mark have appeared in Albany and at the Van Buren site. Such pipes with a crowned HG mark have been found at the Van Buren site as well as in a post-1664 deposit at Fort Orange and on the cellar floor of the Schuyler Flatts farmhouse, a structure that collapsed in 1668, was soon repaired, but was then abandoned. In New York City, the crowned HG mark on an elbow-shaped pipe has been found at the Stadt Huys site, where excavations revealed the foundations of the King's House Tavern built by

4) Moody 2005: 124; Bradley and De Angelo 1981: 112-113, 126. The writer is also indebted to James Bradley for information on pipes from the Mohawk Printup site.

5) Moody 2005: 126-127; Duco 1981: 294, 307, 463; Reynolds 1911: 477-480; Den Braven 2006: 15-16. See also the Family Group Records and Pedigree Charts at <www.familysearch.org>.

6) Mark no. 49, in Huey 1988: 740, 785; De Roever 1987: 58; Hall 1996: 119.

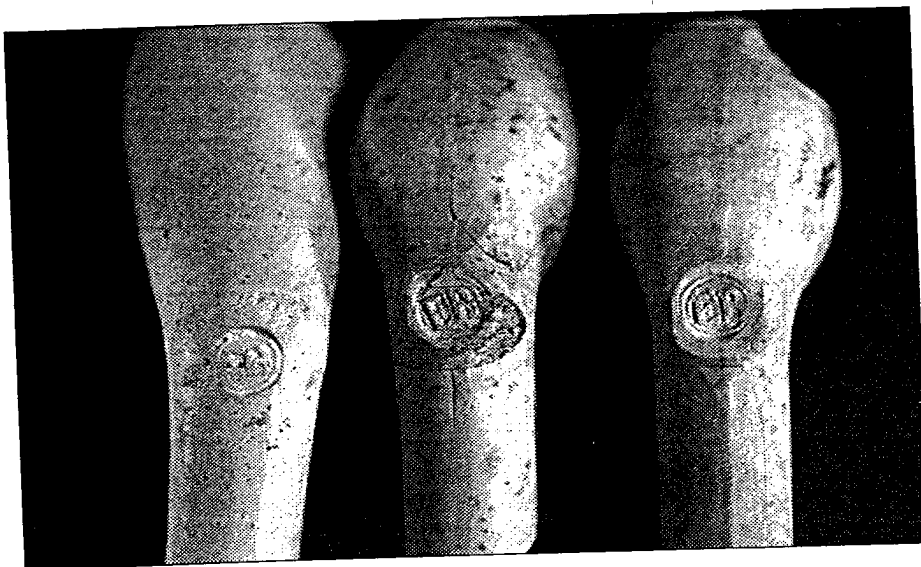


fig. 4. Pipes excavated at Fort Orange with the EB mark of Edward Bird of Amsterdam. On the left is an elbow-shaped pipe, and in the center and on the right are bulbous pipes. Photograph by Joseph E. McEvoy.

Governor Francis Lovelace in 1670. Elbow-shaped pipes with the crowned HG and with the plain HG were both present together at Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga Iroquois sites of the 1670s to the 1690s.⁷ In 1694 the crowned HG mark was licensed to a pipe maker in Gouda, in the Dutch province of South Holland (Duco 2003: 159).

Evert Bird did not prosper as a pipe maker. He lost control of the popular EB mark, which another Amsterdam pipe merchant, Adriaen van der Cruis, began using in 1672. Born in Gouda, Van der Cruis contracted with a pipe maker in the same town, Jacobus Jansz. de Vriend, to produce the EB pipes for him. In 1683, threatened by other Gouda pipe makers using the same mark, Van der Cruis was granted the exclusive right to use the uncrowned EB mark. The pipe makers of Gouda had formed a guild in 1660, and their products rapidly began replacing those of Amsterdam in the American market (Duco 2003: 23; Helbers and Goedewaagen 1942: 15-16). In the archeological context dating about 1664 in Fort Orange, for example, a pipe with a flat-heeled bulbous bowl and the TIP heel mark was found. It was made by Thiel Jansz. Proost of Gouda, who worked from about 1636 to 1674. Other examples of these pipes have been excavated at the Philipsburg Upper Mills, established in North Tarrytown, NY, by Frederick Philipse perhaps in the 1670s. Still other examples have been found not only in 's-Gravenhage, Dordrecht, Flushing

⁷ Den Braven 2003: 14-15; Huey 1987: 14; Huey 1974: 109; Bradley and De Angelo 1981: 115-116, 127; McCashion 1979: 11; McCashion 1992: 8. An Onondaga Iroquois site where both forms of HG mark appear is the Bloody Hill II (Weston) site occupied from about 1682 to 1696, and they both have been found also at the Mohawk Iroquois Caughwawauga (Veeder) site of about 1688 to 1693.

(Vlissingen), and Alkmaar in the Netherlands, but also at an English colonial site in Newfoundland. Pipes with the TIP mark were generally considered of fine quality.⁸

Pipe makers of Gouda also began producing pipes of the heel-less elbow shape originally introduced by Edward Bird for the American market. One example of such a pipe with the mark of a posthorn was found at the brickmaker's house site just north of Beverwijk. This is an unusual pipe, and no other example has yet been reported in North America. This mark on the heels of bulbous pipes made in Gouda has appeared in Amsterdam, Alkmaar, and Utrecht, as well as in central Germany at Erfurt, and in England.⁹ The posthorn mark is derived from the coat of arms of Hoorn. It dates probably after 1660 and was used by the Gouda pipe maker Abraham Danielsz. van Hoorn until 1674, although there is some evidence that a Utrecht pipe maker also used the posthorn mark. Abraham's father in Gouda probably used it as well. Abraham may have started working as early as 1651, when he was married at Lekkerkerk, southeast of Gouda.¹⁰

Other Gouda pipe makers continued to produce both elbow-shaped and bulbous pipes for the American trade during the 1670s. One was Pieter Jansen Gleijne, who used the cross and orb mark on bulbous pipes. He registered the mark in 1674. An example was excavated in Albany at the site of the Lutheran Church near the cemetery that was there in 1680. Another was excavated in the Town of Bethlehem, Albany County, at an early house site near the Vlomans Kill. Many more, however, have been found at Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga Iroquois sites of the 1670s. They have also been excavated in New York City at Hanover Square and at the Stadt Huys site.¹¹

The continued production of elbow-type pipes in Gouda specifically for export is represented by other discoveries. Elbow-type pipes with the PS mark were made beginning probably in 1675 by Pieter Jooste Soutman of Gouda. One example was excavated near the oldest portion of Philipse Manor Hall in Yonkers, NY, built in the 1670s or 1680s by Frederick Philipse following his purchase of the property in 1672. Other examples of these pipes have been excavated at the Philipsburg Upper Mills in North Tarrytown. North of Albany, on the south bank of the Mohawk River west of the Hudson River, another was found at the site of the farm occupied by Martin Cregier and his son, Martin Jr, following the latter's marriage in 1671. Martin Jr. was married to Jannetje van Doesburgh, whose mother, Maritie Damen, had re-

8) Van Oostveen 2004: 15, 33, 81; Bitter, De Jong-Lambrechts, Roedema, Duco, Kaneda, Venhuis, and Ostkamp 2004: 79; Duco 2003: 16-17, 180; Duco 2006 at <<http://www.pijpenkabinet.nl/Artikelen/arch-vlissingen/arch-E-Vlissingeno.html>>; Gaulton n.d. at <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/pipemarks3.html>> (p. 3). The writer is indebted to Arjan den Braven for additional information on Proost pipes.

9) Duco 1981: 274; Noll 2004 at <<http://www.knasterkopf.de/htm/hnd17.htm>>; Atkinson and Oswald 1972: 182; Smiesing and Brinkerink 1988: 36-37, 105, 112-115.

10) Duco 1981: 274; Duco 2003: 143; Individual Records at <www.familysearch.org>. The writer is indebted to Gordon De Angelo for research on the posthorn mark.

11) Rumrill 1991: 33; Fisher 2005 at <<http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/research/anthropology/crsp/arccrsphowardst.html>>; McCashion 1992: 4-5, 8; McCashion 1979: 11; Bradley and De Angelo 1981: 114-115, 128; Duco 2003: 125.

ceived a patent for the land in 1668. Evidence of the continuation of trade patterns are the examples recovered from the Onondaga Iroquois Bloody Hill II (Weston) site occupied from about 1682 to 1696 and from the Oneida Upper Hogan site of about 1677 to 1685. The PS monogram has also been reported on pipes from Pemaquid, ME, and from Cape Town, South Africa.¹²

Finally, perhaps some of the last of the elbow-shaped pipes made by Gouda pipe makers were those of Willem Claesz Boot. His pipes bear the mark of a goblet, or Dutch *roemer* glass, registered in 1676. When he married in 1666, he was living on the Komijnsteeg in Gouda. During the next ten years, he and his wife had seven children, one of whom died as an infant. An intact elbow-shaped pipe bowl with his mark was excavated at Fort Orange in a deposit dating about 1671 to 1676, and a fragment of a similar pipe was present across the river at the Van Buren site. Others have been recovered from the Onondaga Iroquois Indian Hill site dating from about 1663 to 1682. Pipes with this mark also have a relatively wide distribution beyond former New Netherland, with discoveries in Rhode Island, southeastern Pennsylvania, and Jamaica.¹³

It is perhaps remarkable that just a very few English clay pipes found their way into New Netherland and into the hands of the Iroquois Indians before 1664. Traditional bulbous pipes with the PE mark of Bristol pipe maker Philip Edwards have been found at the Stone Quarry site dating from about 1640 to 1650 and the Moot site dating from about 1660 to 1677, both of them Oneida Iroquois sites. Elsewhere, in the English colonies, these bulbous pipes are common in seventeenth-century sites in Virginia, Maryland, New England, and as far north as Newfoundland.¹⁴ Philip Edwards became a freeman pipe maker of Bristol early in 1650, and in 1652 he was a founding member of the Bristol Pipemakers' Guild. With the founding of this guild, Bristol pipe making rapidly expanded (Walker 1971: 6-7; Walker 1977: 1125-26).

The Bristol pipe makers almost immediately recognized the importance of the opportunity provided by the English takeover of New Netherland in 1664. English-made pipes intended for the Indian trade soon began to arrive in the new colony of New York, and a number of them quickly appeared in the 1664 context at Fort Orange (fig. 5) along with the Dutch pipes. Most significantly, many of these English pipes were deliberate copies of the Dutch elbow shape that originated with Edward Bird. The English, clearly, had adopted a Dutch innovation. The English pipes that are not marked were usually considered of lesser quality, and they can also be distin-

12) The writer is indebted to Kathleen E. Johnson, Gordon De Angelo, and Gary Bernhart for assistance with this research. Pearson 1976: 221; Bradley and De Angelo 1981: 114, 128; Clark and Owen 1976: 5, pl. 3; Camp 1975: 60; Graf 1992: 146.

13) Duco 2003: 142; Bradley and De Angelo 1981: 115, 127; the marriage and family record of Willem Claes Boot and Neeltje Jans is available at <www.familieboot.com>. The writer is also indebted to Phil ter Heide for information on this family.

14) McCashion 1979: 6-9; Pawson 1969: 118, 120; King 1993: personal communication; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987: 168, 174-175; Bradley n.d. at <<http://w3.salemstate.edu/~ebaker/Phipsweb/phipsalbum.html>>; Gaulton n.d. at <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/pipemarks2.html>>.

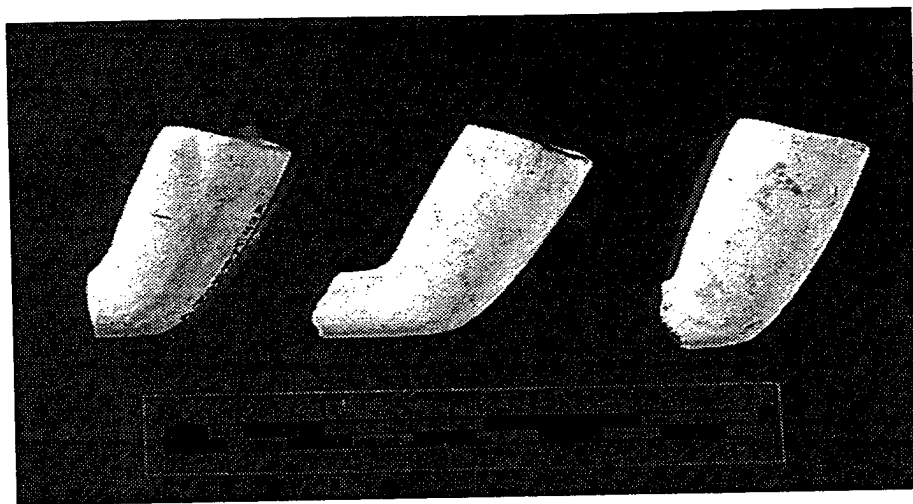


fig. 5. Unmarked heel-less pipe bowls, probably English, from contexts of the 1660s and 1670s at Fort Orange. Photograph by Joseph E. McEvoy.

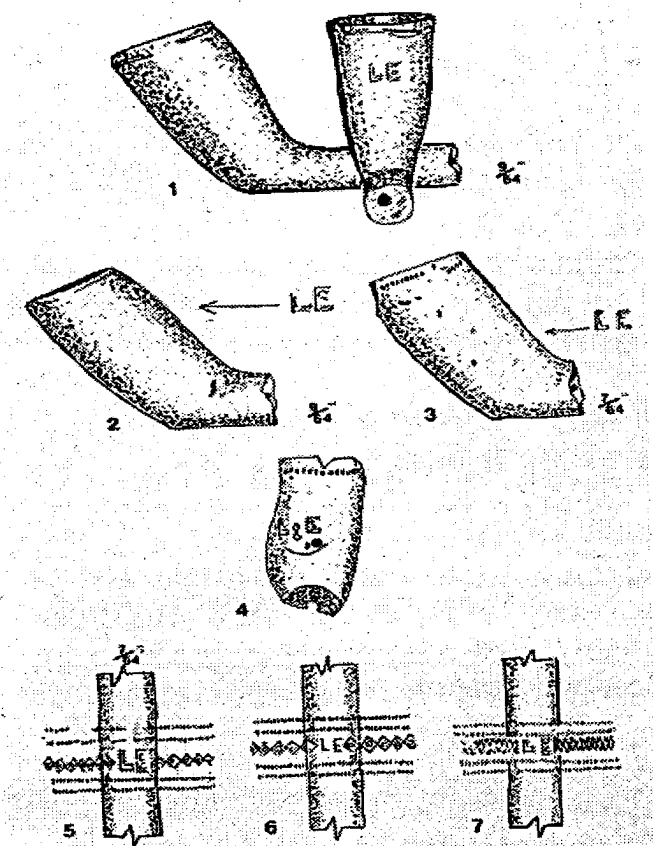


fig. 6. Examples of heel-less elbow pipes made by Llewellyn Evans of Bristol, England, who became a freeman in 1661. From L.T. Alexander, "Clay Pipes from the Buck Site in Maryland," in Peter Davey (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, vol. II (The United States of America), 37-61 (photograph on p. 48). BAR International Series 60 (Oxford: B.A.R., 1979).

guished from the Dutch elbow-shaped pipes by their lack of fine finish, the lack of rouletting around the rim of the bowl, and the slightly curved sides. These pipes, too, were intended specifically for the American trade, since none are found in England.

One family of Bristol pipe makers, the Evans family from Wales, soon began producing these elbow-shaped pipes (as well as the familiar bulbous pipes) and marked them. There were two Bristol pipe makers named William Evans, possibly cousins, one of whom was apprenticed in 1653 and became a freeman in 1660. The other was apprenticed in 1660 and became a freeman in 1667. One of them had a brother, Llewellyn Evans, who was apprenticed in 1654 and became a freeman in 1661, and one of them had a son, Isaac Evans, who was working as a pipe maker by 1696 (fig. 6). Elbow-shaped pipes marked LE, WE, and IE quickly became very common in English colonial sites from the West Indies to Newfoundland (Walker 1977: 1130–36, 1426–35; Walker 1971: 7–8). Their pipes are often marked on the stem and on the back of the bowl facing the smoker. They are all of the elbow shape, and sometimes they have rouletting around the rim of the bowl.

Evans pipes are perhaps most common in Maryland; in contrast, they are not common in the former colony of New Netherland. They appear in the lower Hudson Valley, but farther north the heel-less elbow-shaped Gouda pipes were evidently still preferred. An Evans pipe was recovered from a site in the upper Delaware Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania, and other examples have been found in the New York City and lower Hudson Valley area in the Stadt Huys site, the Broad Street site, the Philipsburg Upper Mills site in North Tarrytown, the Ramapo Rockshelter site in Rockland County, and the Senate House and Van Imbroch house lots in Kingston, NY. Surgeon Gysbert van Imbroch had settled in Kingston (Wiltwijck) between 1658 and 1663. The Senate House in Kingston is believed to have been built in 1676.¹⁵ It is remarkable that no Evans pipes have been found in non-Indian sites north of Kingston, while in the Mohawk Valley in the Nelliston-Fort Plain area the White Orchard and Galligan Mohawk Iroquois sites have produced examples. The White Orchard site dates about 1670 to 1688, while the Galligan site dates probably after about 1700.¹⁶

The William Evans who was apprenticed in 1660 changed masters in 1661. His new masters were Bristol pipe makers Robert Tippet and his wife Joan. Robert Tippet became a Bristol freeman in 1660, at the time of his marriage, but he was dead by 1687. This first Robert Tippet evidently produced only flat-heeled bulbous pipes. His son, Robert Tippet II, became a freeman in 1678 and carried on the business. Pipes that he produced between about 1680 and 1710 were still slightly bulbous but also thinner and began to have spur heels. One example (fig. 7) was excavated at the Schuyler Flatts site, which was the Schuyler family farm after 1672. On the back of the bowl are incised the initials RT. Robert II evidently entered into a partnership with the Evans family, and there are similar pipes with the name EVANS in a circu-

¹⁵) Perazio 2003; Dallal 1983; Grossman 1985, II: pl. VII–19, VII–26; Funk 1976: 180; Feister and Sopko 2003: 90; Diamond 2004, I: 108–109.

¹⁶) The writer is indebted to James Bradley and Wayne Lenig for this information.

lar cartouche on the right side of the pipe bowl and the initials RT on the back of the bowl facing the smoker. Other pipes with the same markings are heel-less, less bulbous, and gracefully curved rather than elbow-shaped. These have clearly evolved, however, from the original Dutch elbow pipe designed by Edward Bird and continued to be produced in Bristol specifically for the American trade.

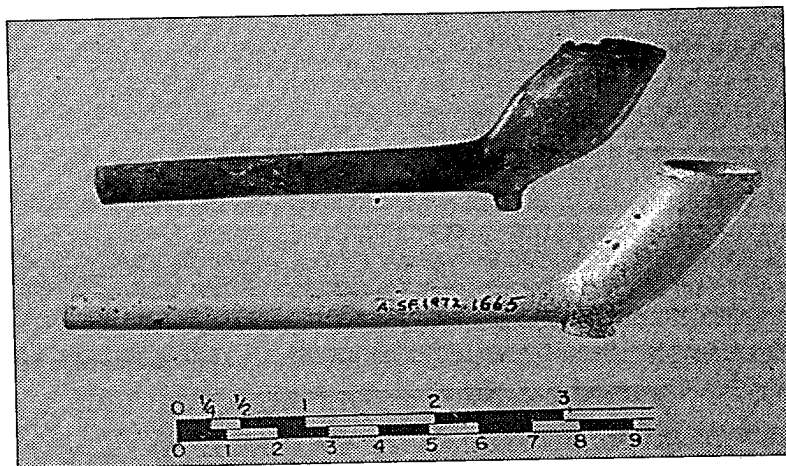


fig. 7. Pipes excavated at the Schuyler Flatts site north of Albany. The upper pipe dates from about 1680 to 1710 and was made by Robert Tippet II of Bristol. Photograph by Joseph E. McEvoy.

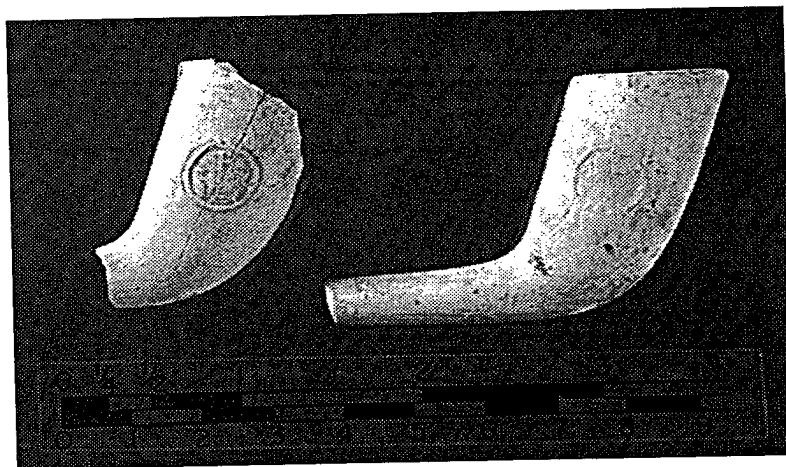


fig. 8. Heel-less pipe bowls each bearing the R TIP PET cartouche on the side of the bowl, produced as early as about 1720 by Robert Tippet II and Robert Tippet III of Bristol. These examples were excavated from eighteenth-century deposits at the site of Fort Orange. Photograph by Joseph E. McEvoy.

A William Evans was still alive in 1697, and Isaac Evans was still working in 1701. Robert Tippet II and his son Robert III continued working as pipe makers as late as 1720. By then they were producing the curved heel-less pipes for the American trade with the cartouche on the right side of the bowl and the initials RT incised

on the back of the bowl (fig. 8). The cartouche on the pipe bowl now had the name R TIP PET within the circle. These heel-less pipes, made for export to America, are found in great numbers in virtually every colonial English site through the entire colonial period, until the end of the Revolutionary War. They became the typical, most commonly used tobacco pipe of English colonial America in the eighteenth century (Walker 1977: 1130–31, 1133, 1135, 1316–18, 1426–27; Walker 1971: 19, 21, 30–31, 35).

It can be argued that England's great Industrial Revolution began in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, introducing many new products that were accepted not only by the English but also by the Dutch in North America. About 1675, John Dwight at Fulham produced the first commercially successful English salt-glazed stoneware, but this was only an imitation of the Rhenish stoneware that had long been exported from the Rhine Valley to England by the Dutch (Gaimster 1997: 44, 109, 309–310; Noël Hume 1972: 111–114). George Ravenscroft in England discovered how to refine the clear Dutch and Venetian *cristallo* glass into sparkling lead glass about 1676, and about 1671 the English began producing a new type of yellow-glazed buff-bodied utility earthenware decorated with combed and trailed brown slip. Huge amounts of this "yellow ware" were exported from Liverpool and Bristol to America until the Revolutionary War, but it seems to have been particularly popular with the Dutch in New York. It may have been reminiscent of the distinctive Dutch yellow-glazed white-bodied ware of the first half of the seventeenth century, just as the Evans and Tippet pipes were reminiscent of the Edward Bird elbow-shaped pipes. Excavations in 2003 at the eighteenth-century Van Alen house (fig. 1) in Kinderhook, NY, for example, uncovered examples of heel-less Tippet pipes, while sherds of buff-bodied earthenware were predominant among the eighteenth-century ceramics.¹⁷ It was only by the beginning of the eighteenth century that the prices of imported goods began to decline, and the substantial markups in prices that had characterized the period from the 1670s to the 1690s began to stabilize at lower levels (Matson 1998: 65).

In the eighteenth century, clay pipes also continued to be imported to the colonies from Gouda, although they evolved into a larger, more delicate form with thin, slender stems, and, except in colonial French Canada, they were far less common than the heel-less Tippet pipes. One such Gouda pipe was excavated at Crailo State Historic Site across the river from Albany. Crailo was the home of the Hendrick van Rensselaer family, and the pipe stem fragment has the impressed name I. DANENS. This was Jan Danens, born in 1700, who took over his father's pipe making business in Gouda in 1725. He was still making pipes in 1758, when he purchased rights to the "cloverleaf" pipe mark at a public sale. He died in 1778.¹⁸

¹⁷) Haynes 1959: 158–161; Noël Hume 1972: 186–189; White 1956, I: 115–116, 119–120, 124; Kirk 2005: 26–27, App. 2: 10.

¹⁸) Duco 1981: 319; Helbers and Goedewaagen 1942: 201; Doodsoorzaken in de periode november 1777 t/m maart 1779 in Gouda, at
<<http://home.planet.nl/~jlafieber/BegraafboekGouda.html>> .

For more than a century, English material culture and technology had borrowed from and depended heavily on the Dutch. As this "England's apprenticeship" continued with the Industrial Revolution of the late seventeenth century, however, English manufactured goods began to flood into the American colonies. Much that was "English" was actually derived from earlier Dutch models and creativity (Haley 1988: 157–207; see also Wilson 1966). It was England that continued the development of a material culture initiated by the Dutch, and the Dutch who remained in colonial New York could be content with that material culture as long as trade and commerce continued to generate profits.

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